by the Socialist Opposition through the German minority's eleventh-hour renunciation of the subsidy. In the following November a Bill tabled by Socialist initiative was passed, depriving members of the national minorities of the right to benefit from the distribution of confiscated lands to ex-servicemen, on the ground that they had not shared in the struggle for Latvian independence. These moves, which were primarily designed to overthrow the Government by creating a strong nationalist feeling, were regarded by the German minority as an insult aimed directly at themselves, and they proceeded to withdraw their representative, Herr Berent, from the Cabinet as a protest.

In 1931, under the bourgeois-conservative Ulmanis Government formed in May, and later under the nationalist-bourgeois Skujenieks Ministry of November, there were further attacks on the privileges of the minorities. A new law prescribing the exclusive use of Lettish in the *Saeima*[1] was rejected in December of that year, but an emergency decree issued in October deprived the Germans of all rights over Riga Cathedral, its museum, and its vicarages, which had been in their hands for over 700 years, a measure which aroused the more resentment since a proposal to this effect had already been rejected by the *Saeima* in the previous May and by a plebiscite held in the summer.

The Polish minority, too, came in for its share of attention in the autumn of 1931; the closing of six elementary Polish schools, the suppression of a Polish newspaper, the suspension of the Polish League of Catholic Youth and the Association of Latgalian Poles, and the latter's final dissolution, led to the resignation of one of the Polish deputies in the *Saeima*. But, when the wave of strong nationalist feeling due to the elections had subsided, conditions improved somewhat, and in March 1932 the Poles were allowed full cultural autonomy again.

Under the dictatorship established in May 1934 the privileges of the minorities sustained a fresh series of assaults. Two decrees were issued in June; the first providing that, in families where either of the parents was of Lettish nationality, the children must attend Lettish schools, and that, where the father and mother belonged to different national minorities, the father's nationality, rather than the language spoken in the household, was to be the decisive factor; the second prescribing Lettish as the sole written or spoken language in all State and communal services, except in districts at least half of whose inhabitants were registered at the last census as speaking a language other than Lettish. In July the German Autonomous

[1] Hitherto, both Russian and German had customarily been spoken in the *Saeima*, in addition to Lettish, though there was no law specifically permitting their use.

563 members, a small executive committee, and local councils if desirable. The competence of the Council extended to all educational, cultural, and charitable institutions, and to the collection of special taxes from the members of the minority, subject to the approval of the Ministers of Finance and Education. In addition to the funds thus raised, the minority received a proportion of the funds set aside by the State and local governments for educational and other cultural purposes.[1]

Up till now the German and Jewish minorities have availed themselves of this law, which has operated very satisfactorily. The Russian minority did not at first consider it necessary to organize a Cultural Council, since, like the Swedes, they already had sufficient influence in the local administrations of the frontier districts, in which they were massed in great numbers; they are now, however, preparing to exercise the right of cultural autonomy. Under the liberal régime thus established there has been singularly little discontent among the national minorities, although under the dictatorship set up in 1934 it would appear to have increased to a certain extent. In the bi-cameral Assembly, which drafted the new Constitution in 1937, the Jewish, Russian, and German minorities had representatives in the Upper Chamber.

3. Church and State[2]

795 162 *Estonia.* The majority of Estonians belong to the Lutheran Church, which has been firmly established ever since the period of Swedish rule (1521–1710); the Greek Orthodox religion introduced under the Russian régime gained relatively few adherents.

●659 The Constitution of 1920, while guaranteeing freedom of religion, declared in Article 11 that there was no State religion, and made no

[1] Table 6. *Minorities and Education in Estonia, 1929–30.**

563 871

Type of school	No. of schools	No. of pupils	Nationality (per 100 pupils)				Language of instruction (per 100 pupils)			
			Estonian	Russian	German	Others	Estonian	Russian	German	Others
Primary . . .	1,292	97,979	88·1	8·8	1·3	1·8	89·4	8·8	1·8	1
Secondary . .	83	15,683	85·7	4·4	7·1	2·6	84·5	5·1	9·3	1
Higher (university and higher technical school) . .	2	4,335	86·8	5·3	3·75	4·15	..	..	..	..

* Figures taken from *Estonie de 1920–1930* (Tallinn, 1931).

[2] Table 7. *Religious Denominations in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (in percentages of the total populations).*

162 795

Country	Date of census	Lutheran	Roman Catholic	Orthodox	Old Believers	Jews	Others
Estonia .	1934	78·0	0·2	19·0	..	0·4	2·4
Latvia . .	1930	56·6	23·7	8·9	4·6	4·9	1·1
Lithuania .	1923	3·8	80·5	2·5	..	0·9	7·3

provision for compulsory religious instruction. In February 1923, 659 ●
however, a Bill submitted to a referendum by the Christian-Democratic party (Lutheran), making religious instruction free and compulsory, was adopted by 330,000 votes to 130,000.[1] In 1926 a Law on the Religious Communities was passed, disestablishing and disendowing all religious bodies, while permitting them full autonomy and freedom to carry on their spiritual tasks. Under the dictatorship, however, a new law of 1934 imposed a certain degree of State control over the churches. Their statutes were subject to confirmation by the Government, and the decisions of the Church Councils could be vetoed by the Minister of the Interior, while the President of the State might require the appointment of other or additional candidates at the elections of the heads of the churches. All priests and [793]
divines must be Estonian citizens, and services must be held in the language of the parishioners, except where ancient church languages were used. The churches were allowed their own courts, whose decisions might be provided with an executionary clause by the lay courts.

Latvia. Since the time of the Reformation, when the Baltic Barons 795
changed over from the Roman Catholic to the Lutheran faith, the 162
majority of the inhabitants have been Lutherans. The Province of Latgale, however, owing to its historic connexion with Poland, has remained Catholic to this day. During the period of Russian rule the Orthodox Church enjoyed a privileged position.

Complete religious liberty exists in Latvia to-day. The churches 659
are autonomous, but they receive small State subsidies, and clerical affairs are subject to the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior. In view of the large Catholic population in Latgale, the Government [648]
signed a Concordat with the Vatican on May 30, 1922,[2] recognizing the Catholic Church as a corporate body, and establishing an Archbishopric at Riga, with the stipulation that the Archbishop must be a Latvian citizen and his appointment subject to the Government's consent.

Lithuania. Owing to its long historical connexion with Poland, 795
Lithuania has remained almost entirely Roman Catholic to this day. 659
In the Constitution of 1922 the State recognized the equal right of all religious organizations to administer their affairs, to publish their doctrines, and to acquire property. Religious education was to be [794]
compulsory in schools other than those established for the children of undenominational parents, and was to be in accordance with the requirements of the religious organization to which the student belonged.

[1] The result of the plebiscite was a defeat for the Government, which had previously rejected the Bill; in accordance with the Constitution, therefore, the State Assembly was dissolved, and new elections were held.

[2] A Supplementary Convention was signed during M. Munters' recent visit to Rome in January 1938.

requirements of the religious organization to which the student belonged.

The clerical Christian-Democratic party in Lithuania, which was also a nationalist and agrarian group, has played a far more important part in political life than its Lutheran counterparts in Latvia and Estonia; indeed, it was the dominant partner in every Government during the parliamentary phase, except for the short-lived Populist-Socialist Cabinet of June–December 1926. In spite of this fact, relations with the Vatican were for a long time extremely acrimonious, largely as a result of the Concordat concluded in 1925 between Poland and the Vatican, whereby the latter recognized the Vilna district as a Polish diocese. Popular indignation at the failure of the Government to change this situation was exploited by the Opposition in the elections of 1926 to secure the defeat of the Christian-Democrats, who, however, supported the Voldemaras Government formed in the following December. A Concordat was eventually negotiated in September 1927, whereby the limits of the ecclesiastical province of Lithuania were to coincide with the existing frontiers; bishops were to be nominated by the Holy See, subject to the approval of the President of the Republic; although religious education was compulsory in all State schools, Catholic Churches might have their own schools, supported by the State.

In the autumn of 1930 there was a recrudescence of hostility when the Government suppressed the Catholic Youth Organization, on the ground that the Church was encouraging political propaganda against the Government, and arrested a number of Christian-Democratic leaders. An exchange of Notes between the Vatican and the Government, followed by a visit of the Papal-Legate, Mgr. Bartolini, to Rome in January 1931, failed to lead to a reconciliation, and in June Mgr. Bartolini was virtually turned out of the country. Relations improved somewhat after the appointment of Mgr. Faidutti as Papal Chargé d'Affaires in August; but up till now no general measure of agreement has been reached, and the Government has succeeded in getting the upper hand in its struggle with the Christian-Democratic party, which was suppressed in 1935. The new Constitution adopted in February 1938, which provides for the introduction of civil marriage and deprives the Church of its autonomy, has aroused considerable opposition in clerical circles.

4. Education[1]

Under the Russian régime primary education in the Estonian and Latvian Provinces reached a fairly high level; in 1886, 98 per cent.

[1] For statistics relating to the number and types of schools in the three countries, see footnotes on pp. 31, 34, and 38 above.

butter in that year being 7,400 metric tons. In 1930 Estonia exported in all 14,100 metric tons, as compared with the figure given above for production in that year of 15,500 metric tons, while Latvia exported 18,400 metric tons as compared with a production figure of 20,800 metric tons. Much progress was made with pig-breeding in Estonia and Latvia during the period; and considerable quantities of bacon were exported, mainly to Great Britain. Lithuania entered the field as a bacon exporter rather later than the two other countries, but by the end of the period her export trade was beginning to be considerable.[1] Poultry-breeding also was carried on intensively in all three countries, particularly Lithuania, which exported large quantities of eggs and poultry to Germany and Great Britain.

4. Timber

The percentage of the total area covered by forests was as follows:

	Percentage	*State property as percentage of this*
Estonia (1929). .	20	88
Latvia (1928). .	29	85
Lithuania (1927). .	17	?

The species vary considerably: in Estonia softwoods prevail to the extent of about 63 per cent., followed by birch (19 per cent.), aspen (10 per cent.), alder and others (8 per cent.), while in Latvia 77 per cent. of the total forest area is covered by softwoods, the remainder being birch (15 per cent.), aspen (4 per cent.), alder (3 per cent.), and others (1 per cent.). The Lithuanian forests consist of softwoods (62 per cent.), aspen (13 per cent.), birch (11 per cent.), alder (4 per cent.), and others (10 per cent.).

The forests of all three States, especially Latvia and Lithuania, suffered from the presence of hostile armies during the War, for large quantities of timber were felled as and when required, though it is true that this took place chiefly by the side of the roads and railways. After the War, too, the absence of agricultural buildings, and even of houses for the new small-holders, led to much abnormal felling of timber. In Lithuania, for example, a great deal of timber was sold at nominal prices or even given away to new settlers. Since the immediate post-War period, however, the respective Forestry Departments have established a more rational control over the timber resources of the State and also of those which are privately owned, for in most cases the owners in the latter category are municipalities or other public bodies.

[1] For the effects of this, see below, pp. 148–9.

1: Anonymous U-4 (no date)1938 RB1 Baltic States RB1

Yet it is by no means certain that a desirable relation was established during this period between felling and fresh growth, and there is little doubt that the annual cut of timber was in general excessively large, at any rate in Latvia and Lithuania. In Lithuania, for example, it was admitted by an official publication[1] that over the entire area the annual growth of new timber was about 2·08 million cubic metres, but that the annual average volume of timber felled for 1927–30 was 2·57 million cubic metres,[2] although the Forestry Department annually allotted only 1·88 million cubic metres for felling. In Latvia, also, the Department of Overseas Trade Reports[3] indicate that the total annual cut has often exceeded the annual increase provided for. In general the extent to which systematic reafforestation took place during this period is very uncertain.

The method of exploitation does not vary greatly. Usually, as in Latvia, the Forestry Department sells the timber in certain forest districts by auction. Felling takes place in the winter months, labour being recruited from the peasants, who have comparatively little farm work to do at that time of year. The felled logs are then taken, generally by sleigh, to the riverside, where they are dumped until the early spring, when the thaw enables them to be floated down to the ports. To this extent the export of logs is a seasonal trade. The rivers of the Baltic States are quite indispensable to the timber trade, for the railway system by itself would be unable to cope with the transport of timber. In the early spring, rivers such as the Daugava,[4] the Gauga, and the Niemen are full of timber rafts. Estonia, however, has few rivers which can be used.

Finally, there are numerous sawmills in all three countries, and the large amount of softwoods has led to the growth of wood-pulp and cellulose industries. Apart from this there is also a growing ply-wood industry; and of the timber exported from these States a large proportion is in the form of semi-manufactures. It will be more convenient, however, to deal with this in the following section.[5]

5. Industry

A clear distinction must be drawn between Lithuania, where manufacturing industry before the War was inconsiderable, and Estonia and Latvia. In these two countries, as has already been

[1] *Lithuanian Telegraph Agency (Elta) Service*, October 1930. [2] Ibid., February 1932.
[3] e.g. D.O.T.: *Economic Conditions in Latvia, January 1935*, publ. 1935, p. 31.
[4] Timber from Poland and the U.S.S.R. also is floated down to Riga on the Daugava and its tributaries, and to a smaller extent on the Lielupe from Lithuania.
[5] It may be mentioned, before manufacturing industries are dealt with, that sea fishing is of some importance in both Estonia and Latvia, the Baltic herring being one of the chief species caught. Reference may also be made to the fact that comparatively large quantities of amber are found in Lithuanian territory, chiefly on the Kurisches Haff. On this subject see an interesting article in the *Lithuanian Telegraph Agency (Elta) Service*, September 1933.